

## Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 201390

FOR MR SCOTT - PLEASE PASS DEP ASST SECRETARY DALLEY

FOLLOWING TEL SENT ACTION SECSTATE INFO USUN, GEORGETOWN  
FROM BRIDGETOWN AUG 16:

QUOTE C O N F I D E N T I A L BRIDGETOWN 1950

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: OVIP, (YOUNG, ANDREW), PFOR, GY  
SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR YOUNG'S VISIT TO GUYANA. TALKS WITH FOREIGN  
MINISTER WILLS

1. SUMMARY:  
AT A TWO HOUR MEETING HOSTED BY FOREIGN MINISTER WILLS,  
AMBASSADOR YOUNG AND STAFF MEMBERS PARTICIPATED IN A BROAD  
RANGING DISCUSSION CARRIED OUT IN A FRANK AND RELAXED  
ATMOSPHERE AND COVERING PROBLEMS OF US-GUYANA RELATIONS,  
CUBA, BELIZE, GUYANA'S ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT NEEDS AND  
DEVELOPMENT OF THE CARIBBEAN AREA. WILLS MADE A FORCEFUL  
PRESENTATION OF THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC DILEMMA IN WHICH  
GUYANA FINDS ITSELF. WILLS FEELS STRONGLY THAT GUYANA  
HAS BEEN MISUNDERSTOOD IN THE UNITED STATES, THAT US FEARS  
OF MARXIST DOMINATION IN GUYANA ARE UNJUSTIFIED AND THE  
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BEST DEFENSE THE US HAS IS THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CARIBBEAN.  
WILLS SAID HIS GREATEST CONCERN IS ECONOMIC DEVELOP-  
MENT. GUYANA, WHICH IS GETTING LITTLE AID FROM THE  
US AND NONE FROM THE SOVIETS BECAUSE IT IS NEITHER ON  
THE RIGHT OR ON THE FAR LEFT, IS OUT IN THE COLD  
POLITICALLY. ON THE MULTI-LATERAL SIDE, GUYANA, AS A  
MIDDLE INCOME COUNTRY, FINDS ITSELF UNABLE TO QUALIFY  
FOR SOFT LOANS FROM INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS.  
FURTHER IT IS UNABLE TO GET NEEDED FUNDS FOR DEVELOP-  
MENT OF THE REQUIRED INFRASTRUCTURE BECAUSE THE

PRIVATE SECTOR IS NOT INTERESTED IN INVESTING IN INFRASTRUCTURE PROJECTS IN GUYANA. WITH RESPECT TO HUMAN RIGHTS, WILLS EXPRESSED DOUBTS THAT THE US WAS PUTTING ITS STATED POLICIES INTO PRACTICE BY CUTTING OFF AID TO MILITARY DICTATORSHIPS AND SUPPORTING GOVERNMENTS WITH GOOD HUMAN RIGHTS RECORDS INSTEAD. WILLS EXPRESSED GRATITUDE THAT THE US HAD COME TO GUYANA TO ASK HIS ADVICE ON HOW TO APPROACH THE SEVERAL ISSUES UNDER DISCUSSION AND WELCOMED THE NEW SPIRIT OF COOPERATION. HE NOTED THAT FOR THE FIRST TIME DEVELOPING COUNTRIES FEEL THAT THE US HAS A GENUINE INTEREST IN HELPING THEM AND IS NOT JUST GIVING LIP SERVICE. WILLS STRESSED THAT PROOF OF FULL NORMALIZATION WOULD BE RESUMPTION OF FMS SALES ON TERMS SIMILAR TO THOSE FOR GUYANA'S NEIGHBORS. END SUMMARY.

2. FOREIGN MINISTER WILLS HOSTED A TWO HOUR MEETING AUGUST 9 ATTENDED BY AMBASSADOR YOUNG AND SEVERAL STAFF MEMBERS. DETAILS OF DISCUSSION ARE SET FORTH BELOW:

3. US-GUYANA RELATIONS: FOREIGN MINISTER WILLS LED OFF WITH AN ANALYSIS OF REASONS FOR POOR RELATIONS BETWEEN THE US AND GUYANA, NOTING THAT GUYANA AND LATIN CONFIDENTIAL

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AMERICA WERE LOW PRIORITY AREAS FOR THE US. THE US HAD INSISTED ON ATTACHING MARXIST/LENINIST LABEL TO GUYANA. WILLS STATED THAT THE US HAD APPARENTLY NEVER UNDERSTOOD GUYANA'S INTENTION TO BE INDEPENDENT, AND HE WAS NEVER BELIEVED IN WASHINGTON. WHEN GUYANA SUPPORTED THE MPLA IN ANGOLA, KISSINGER CALLED IT SOCIALIST SOLIDARITY EVEN THOUGH GUYANA WAS NOT LOOKING FOR A ROLE IN ANGOLA AND WAS NOT ACTING UNDER SOVIET OR COMMUNIST INFLUENCE. WILLS NOTED THAT 90 PERCENT OF GUYANA'S PEOPLE ARE DESCENDANTS OF SLAVES OR INDENTURED LABOR, AND THEY IDENTIFY STRONGLY WITH ANTI-APARTHEID POLICIES. GUYANA'S INVOLVEMENT IN ANGOLA SHOULD BE UNDERSTOOD IN THIS PERSPECTIVE. WILLS WENT ON TO NOTE THAT IN GUYANA'S VIEW OF THE WORLD, EUROPE HAD CAUSED TWO WORLD WARS, AND THEY FEAR THE EUROPEAN PROBLEM WILL CAUSE ANOTHER WORLD WAR. ECONOMICALLY, GUYANA IS FLANKED BY POVERTY AND OIL PROBLEMS. GUYANA FEELS IT IS IN THE US INTEREST TO HELP GUYANA DEVELOP. THE PROBLEM IS TO GET THE ADMINISTRATION TO AGREE. GUYANA CAN'T GET HELP FROM THE USSR BECAUSE THE SOVIET CLAIM DEVELOPMENT IS A MATTER FOR THE FORMER COLONIALISTS TO SOLVE (AN ARGUMENT THAT GUYANA HAS TOLD THEM IS IRRELEVANT TO PRESENT ISSUES). ON THE OTHER HAND, THE US CUT AID TO GUYANA IN RECENT YEARS BECAUSE IT CLAIMED GUYANA'S STANDS AT THE UN WERE NOT IN THE US INTEREST. WILLS NOTED THAT AFTER ALL, INDEPENDENCE MEANS

INDEPENDENCE AND GUYANA IS NOT A SATELLITE. WILLS COMPLAINED AT LENGTH THAT GUYANA IS ALWAYS LINKED TO CUBA IN US EYES AND THAT THE CARIBBEAN IS THE MOST POLITICIZED PART OF LATIN AMERICA. WILLS STRESSED HIS VIEW THAT US AID GOES TO AREAS WHERE THE US HAS STRATEGIC INTEREST AND THAT COUNTRIES WITH GOOD HUMAN RIGHTS RECORDS DON'T GET AID. WILL ARGUED THE CASE FOR AID BY CITING GUYANA'S STRONG CULTURAL LINKS TO THE US AND NOTING THAT WHEREEVER THERE ARE PEOPLE IN NEED, CONFIDENTIAL

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THAT IS IN THE US INTERESTS.

4. WILLS CONCLUDED THAT IT IS REFRESHING TO SEE THE CHANGE OF STYLE IN THE NEW ADMINISTRATION. ONE CAN WORK WITH THE NEW ADMINISTRATION WHICH IS NOT SIMPLY ENGAGING IN DAMAGE CONTROL AS WAS FORMERLY THE CASE. WILLS STATED THAT THE STYLE OF THE PRESENT ADMINISTRATION IS MORE OPEN AND UNDERSTANDABLE AND THAT STYLE WAS WELCOME. WILLS NEVER THOUGHT HE WOULD HAVE AN AMBASSADOR FROM US IN GUYANA "TELLING IT LIKE IT IS." GUYANA TRIED TO BE A BRIDGE BETWEEN THE WEST AND AFRICA AND BETWEEN THE WEST AND SOUTH AMERICA. THERE WAS A CREDIBILITY PROBLEM UNDER THE PREVIOUS ADMINISTRATION. NOBODY BELIEVED THE PREVIOUS ADMINISTRATION DUE TO THE ALLENDE ISSUE, CAMBODIA, ETC. THERE WAS A LACK OF MORAL GUIDANCE FROM THE US IN THE PAST. THE BIG DIFFERENCE NOW IS THAT THE NEW ADMINISTRATION IS ONE WITH MORAL VALUES. GUYANA'S PROBLEM IS THAT IT IS NOT UNDERSTOOD.

5. AMBASSADOR YOUNG AGREED WITH WILLS ANALYSIS OF THE PAST TREATMENT OF GUYANA AND NOTED THAT THE US HAS HAD A SIGNIFICANT POLITICAL CHANGE BUT THERE HAS NOT BEEN A CORRESPONDING ECONOMIC CHANGE. THE MOOD IN THE US IN TOWARDS FISCAL RESPONSIBILITY, ISOLATIONISM AND PROTECTIONISM. THE ADMINISTRATION HAS AN INTERNATIONAL POINT OF VIEW BUT IS NERVOUS THAT THE COUNTRY AS A WHOLE DOES NOT HAVE THE SAME VIEW. THE US IN TRYING NOW TO DEMONSTRATE TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE THAT US POLICY IS WORKING. THE NYERERE VISIT AND THE BOGOTA MEETING WERE BOTH IMPORTANT EVENTS AND SIGNS OF US MOVEMENT AND SUCCESS. THE CURRENT TRIP HAS FOUND A SENSE OF CARIBBEAN COMMUNITY, AND DELEGATION WAS CONFIDENTIAL

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HOPING THAT CARIBBEAN COMMUNITY COULD BECOME A NEW FOCUS FOR US POLICY. AMBASSADOR YOUNG SAID WHAT WE ARE TRYING TO GET IS A SENSE OF WHERE GUYANA SEES THE US-GUYANA BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP, A VIEW OF THE

POTENTIAL FOR A REGIONAL RELATIONSHIP, IDEAS OF WHERE WE CAN WORK TOGETHER IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, AND FINALLY THE KIND OF ECONOMIC/TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE THAT MIGHT HELP WITH ANY IMMEDIATE CRISES IN GUYANA.

6. IN COMMENTING ON GUYANA'S ECONOMIC SITUATION, WILLS NOTED THAT THE IMMEDIATE PROBLEM IS THE BALANCE OF PAYMENTS BUT BECAUSE OF POLITICAL FACTORS GUYANA DOESN'T GET ANY BILATERAL HELP. WILLS COMMENTED THAT IN MODERN WORLD, A COUNTRY HAS TO BE ON THE EXTREME RIGHT OR EXTREME LEFT TO GET HELP. THOSE IN THE MIDDLE GET NOTHING. HE SAID GUYANA'S GREATEST NEED IS FOR FINANCING OF THE INFRASTRUCTURE AND SUCH FUNDS CAN'T BE RAISED FROM EXPORT RECEIPTS. AMBASSADOR YOUNG NOTED THAT IN US ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS, THE TREND IS AWAY FROM INVESTMENT IN THE INFRASTRUCTURE--AND TOWARD BASIC HUMAN NEEDS. WILLS ADDED THAT IT IS NOT TRUE THAT GUYANA HAS REJECTED PRIVATE INVESTMENT. INVESTMENT IS LACKING BECAUSE THERE IS A PROBLEM OF CONFIDENCE ON THE PART OF THE BUSINESS COMMUNITY AND A FEAR OF NATIONALIZATION. YOUNG NOTED THAT THERE IS AN ELECTION COMING UP AND FEARS IN THE US THAT GUYANA MIGHT GO MARXIST MAKE INVESTMENT HARD TO GET. ONE PURPOSE OF THIS TRIP WILL BE TO EDUCATE THE US PUBLIC ABOUT THE REAL SITUATION IN GUYANA. WILLS AGREED WITH AMBASSADOR YOUNG'S STATEMENT AND STATED THE FEAR OF GUYANA GOING MARXIST IS A SHORTSIGHTED VIEW. BUT IF PRIVATE INVESTMENT IS AFRAID, THEN GUYANA NEEDS OFFICIAL OR MULTILATERAL ASSISTANCE. THE PRIVATE SECTOR IS NOT INTERESTED IN INFRASTRUCTURE.

7. IN RESPONSE TO QUESTIONS ABOUT THE STATUS OF A LOAN  
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REQUEST, WILLS STATED THAT THE APPLICATION FOR THE INTER-AMERICAN BANK LOAN LOOKS OKAY. MR. VALDEZ EXPLAINED THAT US BILATERAL AID IS BEING CONCENTRATED IN RURAL DEVELOPMENT, HEALTH, EDUCATION, HOUSING AND FOOD ASSISTANCE, AND INDICATED THAT AID WAS SINCERELY INTERESTED IN RESPONDING TO GUYANA PROPOSALS FOR DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS. MR. VALDEZ ALSO EXPLAINED THAT AID LOANS AND GRANTS TO GUYANA WOULD INCREASE SIGNIFICANTLY DURING FISCAL YEAR 1978. MS. SHELTON INDICATED THAT ADMINISTRATION COULD DISCUSS THE GUYANA REQUEST WITH THE INTER-AMERICAN DEVELOPMENT BANK TO ENCOURAGE APPROVAL OF THE LOAN. WILLS EXPLAINED THAT SOFT LOANS ARE NOW HARD TO GET AND THAT THEY COULD USE HELP IN THAT DIRECTION. WILLS NOTED THERE IS INCREASING COMPETITION FROM CENTRAL AMERICAN DICTATORS FOR FUNDS.

8. YOUNG EXPLAINED THAT HE WAS SURPRISED AT THE

DEDICATION TO REGIONALISM IN THE CARIBBEAN. COST RICA SEES ITSELF AND THE CARIBBEAN DEMOCRACIES AS THE LAST HOPE FOR LATIN AMERICAN DEMOCRACY, AND COSTA RICA WANTS THE US TO FAVOR AID AND SUPPORT TO CARICOMCOM.

9. ASSISTANT ADMINISTRATOR VALDEZ TOLD WILLS THAT HE WOULD REMAIN IN GUYANA FOR ANOTHER DAY AND VISIT SEVERAL AID-FINANCED PROJECTS AND TO VISIT SEVERAL MINISTRIES TO DISCUSS LOAN PROPOSALS FOR DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS (A SEPARATE CABLE WILL REPORT VALDEZ' CONVERSATION AND INSPECTION TRIP). WILLS NOTED THAT THE CARIBBEAN DEVELOPMENT BANK IS SHORT OF FUNDS AND HASN'T BEEN ABLE TO GET OPEC FUNDS. HE WAS CRITICAL OF THE OPEC STINGINESS AND FAILURE TO CONFIDENTIAL

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PROVIDE ASSISTANCE.

10. RELATIONS WITH VENEZUELA: IN RESPONSE TO QUESTIONS ABOUT GUYANA'S RELATIONS WITH VENEZUELA, WILLS NOTED THAT PEREZ IS SEEKING A THIRD WORLD POSITION. HOWEVER, HE MAKES PROMISES BUT THERE IS NO FOLLOW-UP AND NO RESULTS. VENEZUELA IS INTERESTED IN THE CARIBBEAN AND WANTS TO MOVE IN THERE ECONOMICALLY, BUT DOES NOT WANT TO HELP GUYANA. WILLS CLAIMED THAT BRAZIL WANTS TO RUN SOUTH AMERICA, MEXICO WANTS TO RUN CENTRAL AMERICA, AND VENEZUELA WANTS TO RUN THE CARRIBBEAN. GUYANA IS CAUGHT BETWEEN BRAZIL AND VENEZUELA DUE TO ITS COMMON BORDERS. DUE TO THE VENEZUELAN/GUYANA TERRITORIAL DISPUTE, VENEZUELA IS NOT INTERESTED IN HELPING GUYANA DEVELOP.

11. CARRIBBEAN REGION: IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION ABOUT CARICOM, WILLS NOTED IT HAS MANY PROBLEMS, AND ITS ECONOMIC UNITY IS IN PERIL. WILLS CLAIMED THERE ARE A LOT OF INDEPENDENCE MESSIAHS IN THE CARIBBEAN. IN RESPONSE TO AMBASSADOR YOUNG'S INQUIRY OF WILLS' VIEW ON ERIC WILLIAMS (TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO) WILLS NOTED THAT HE IS A RUGGED BELIEVER IN NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE BUT HASN'T MOVED PAST THE FIRST FEELING OF STRONG NATIONALISM AFTER GAINING INDEPENDENCE. IN WILLS' VIEW, WILLIAMS IS A COMMITTED REGIONALIST BUT ONE HAS TO GET WILLIAMS TO OPERATE ON HIS OWN TERMS. AMASSADOR YOUNG EXPLAINED THAT BI-LATERAL RELATIONS OFTEN COMPROMISE INDIVIDUAL COUNTRIES. THUS REGIONAL SCHEMES ENABLE US TO DO MORE FOR EVERYONE AND FACILITATE OVERCOMING US DOMESTIC POLITICAL PROBLEMS.

WILLS MADE NO COMMENT ON A PROPOSED REGIONAL PROGRAM, BUT NOTED THAT THE PROBLEM OF POVERTY IS

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URGENT AND NEEDS ATTENTION NOW. AND WAITING ONLY INCREASES THE PROBLEM. IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION ABOUT THE LEADERSHIP QUALITIES OF ERIC WILLIAMS, WILLS NOTED THAT WILLIAMS DOESN'T HAVE AS MUCH LEADERSHIP AS HE HAS OIL. WE NEED TO GET HIM TO SEE THAT INDEPENDENCE IS NOT AN END IN ITSELF AND TO SEE HIS REGIONAL ROLE. WILLS SAID HE HAS OBSERVED THAT WILLIAMS HAS GREAT FAITH IN THE "NIGERIAN CONNECTION" AND THIS COULD BE OF SOME USE TO US IN OUR APPRHACH TO WILLIAMS.

12. BELIZE: WILLS STATED THAT ONLY THE US CAN HOLD THE GUATEMALANS BACK, AND HE DOUBTED WHETHER CUBA WOULD INTERVENE IN BELIZE OR ANYWHERE ELSE IN LATIN AMERICA. (NOTE: AT THIS POINT AMBASSADOR YOUNG AND MR. VALDEZ DEPARTED FOR SCHEDULED VISITS TO AID PROJECTS AND DISCUSSIONS CONTINUED WITH FORMIN WILLS AND OTHER STAFF MEMBERS PRESENT.) CONTINUING ON THE BELIZE ISSUE, MR. EINAUDI NOTED THAT THE US IS ACTIVE WITH BOTH THE BRITISH AND GUATEMALA IN SUPPORT OF PEACEFUL INDEPENDENCE FOR BELIZE. WILLS INSISTED THAT NO ONE INTENDS TO INVITE CUBA TO "MESS AROUND" IN BELIZE. WILLS SAID HE HAD ASKED CASTRO PERSONALLY ABOUT CUBAN INTENTIONS IN BELIZE AND CASTRO DENIED ANY PLANS TO INTERFERE IN BELIZE. WILLS IS CONCERNED THAT A CONFLICT IN BELIZE WOULD ENCOURAGE THE VENEZUELANS T START SOMETHING IN GUYANA.

13. CUBA: IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION ABOUT CUBA'S INTENTIONS IN THE CARIBBEAN, WILLS COMMENTED THAT CUBA IS IN A STRATEGIC STRAIT JACKET WHICH IT IS TRYING TO GET OUT OF. CUBA IS INTERESTED IN NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS WITH THE US; IT WILL ACCEPT US TOURISTS. CONFIDENTIAL

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CUBA SEES ITS OWN DESTINY IN LATIN AMERICA. WILLS SEES CASTRO AS MORE OF A LEFT-WING CAUDILLO THAN A MARIST. CASTRO HAS SERIOUS ECONOMIC PROBLEMS TO OVERCOME AND CANT'T SEVER CONNECTIONS WITH THE SOVIETS WITHOUT HAVING AN ALTERNATIVE. KISSINGER CLAIMED THAT HE HAD A SCHEME FOR DETENTE WITH CUBA BUT THIS WAS NEVER CARRIED OUT. MR. EINAUDI NOTED THAT EVENTS IN ANGOLA INTERFERED WITH CLOSER RELATIONS WITH CUBA AT THAT TIME. HE ADDED THAT THERE IS NOW A GENUINE DIALOGUE IN THE US, AND THERE ARE MANY MORE POLICY OPTIONS OPEN TO CARTER THAN THERE WERE FOR THE PAST ADMINISTRATION. MS. SHELTON NOTED THAT CONGRESSIONAL ATTITUDES TOWARDS CUBA WERE NOT AS HOSTILE AS MANY

LATINS BELIEVE AND THERE IS QUIET SUPPORT FOR THE ADMINISTRATION'S CUBA POLICY. IN FURTHER COMMENTS ON CUBA'S ROLE IN THE CARIBBEAN, WILLS NOTED THAT CUBA IS FIGHTING FOR SURVIVAL AND TRYING TO BREAK AWAY FROM SOVIET INFLUENCE. GUYANA IS NOT ABOUT TO PERMIT ANY STRONG CUBAN PRESENCE IN GUYANA BECAUSE THEY WOULD PUT THAT "OTHER GUY" IN POWER. WILLS CLAIMED CUBA IS WORKING WITH "PROGRESSIVE ELEMENTS" IN LATIN AMERICA FOR A STRONG "NON-ALIGNED." HE SAID IT SHOULD BE NOTED THAT CUBA'S TROOPS ARE 90 PERCENT BLACK AND CUBA IS EXPORTING A MINORITY PROBLEM. CUBA IS ALSO GETTING AN ECONOMIC ADVANTAGE OUT OF ITS PRESENCE IN ANGOLA AND THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN TRADE IS ACTUALLY STATIONED THERE.

IN A REVIEW OF PREVIOUS POINTS MADE, MR. EINAUDI SUMMARIZED WILLS' VIEW AS FOLLOWS: SO LONG AS THE US MAINTAINED A HOSTILE CUBA POLICY, THIS PUT THE US IN A POSTURE OF HOSTILITY ALSO TO THE REST OF THE CARIBBEAN. THIS POSTURE MADE IT HARD FOR THE US TO ASSOCIATE WITH GUYANA. EINAUDI ASKED WHAT WOULD BE THE IMPLICATIONS FOR GUYANA OF NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS WITH CUBA. WILLS ANSWERED THAT THIS WOULD

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BE A GOOD THING. IT WOULD BE A PRAGMATIC MOVE AND MORE IMPORTANTLY WOULD SHOW THE ACCEPTANCE OF A PLURALITY OF POLITICAL SYSTEMS IN LATIN AMERICA. IT WOULD BE A REVISION OF THE MONROE DOCTRINE. WILLS REITERATED HIS PREVIOUS STATEMENTS THAT THE US SHOULD NOT BE SO STRONGLY INFLUENCED BY THE POLITICAL LABELS ATTACHED TO VARIOUS GOVERNMENTS. THE US MEDIA HAVE PUT LATIN AMERICAN GOVERNMENTS IN FIXED POSITIONS AND THIS HAS AN ADVERSE EFFECT ON US PERCEPTIONS. THE DISCUSSION THEN TURNED TO NORTH SOUTH ISSUES. HORMATS NOTED THAT THE US IS FOCUSING MORE HEAVILY ON NORTH/SOUTH RELATIONS AND RELATIONS WITH THE THIRD WORLD WOULD BE DOMINATED LESS HEAVILY BY EAST/WEST CONSIDERATIONS. ONE OF THE REASONS FOR THIS TRIP IS TO TRY TO UNDERSTAND HOW TO BEGIN A BETTER DIALOGUE WITH THE CARIBBEAN AREA. WILLS STATED THAT THE NEW US NATIONAL MORAL CONSCIOUSNESS IS THE CHIEF INPUT INTO THE NEW INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY. WILLS BELIEVES THAT THE SOVIETS ARE TAKING THE WRONG POLICY DIRECTION. THEY CONTINUALLY FEEL THREATENED AND MAINTAIN THEIR STALINIST VIEW OF THE WORLD. THE US COMPOUNDS THE SOVIET PARANOIA BY ITS STRONG REACTIONS AND THE US REACTION WAS AT THE EXPENSE OF HOW MANY MILLIONS LIVE. HORMATS NOTED THAT THE THRUST OF US POLICY IS NOW LESS COLD WAR AND WE ARE NOT TRYING TO DEAL WITH DEVELOPMENTAL AND HUMAN ISSUES ON THEIR OWN TERMS, RATHER THAN AS

AN OUTGROWTH OF THE COLD WAR. GUYANA AMBASSADOR TO THE UN JACKSON QUESTIONED WHETHER THIS NEW CLIMATE WOULD TRANSLATE INTO PRACTICAL ARRANGEMENTS. MR. EINAUDI EXPLAINED THAT OUR PROBLEM IS BOTH INTELLECTUAL AND ORGANIZATIONAL. ONCE BASIC ISSUES ARE WORKED OUT, WE CAN TRY TO BRING CONGRESS ALONG. CONFIDENTIAL

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HORMATS GAVE A WRAP UP OF THE THREE CATEGORIES OF DEVELOPMENT ISSUES WE ARE NOW WORKING ON, (1) SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS HAS ALREADY BEEN MADE AS EVIDENCED BY THE IFAD AND IMPROVED IMF COMPENSATORY FINANCE MECHANISMS. (2) COMMODITIES AND THE COMMON FUND, AND (3) TRADE.

WILLS COMMENTED THAT FOR THE FIRST TIME THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES FEEL THAT THE US IS CONCERNED AND NOT JUST GIVING LIP SERVICE AS PAST ADMINISTRATIONS DID. SECRETARY KISSINGER MADE PROPOSALS WHICH WERE NOT TAKEN SERIOUSLY. WILLS EMPHASIZED THAT THE DEVELOPING WORLD KNOWS THE US CONSTITUTION VERY WELL AND HOW THE SYSTEM WORKS. THEY KNOW WHAT IS AND IS NOT POSSIBLE FOR AN ADMINISTRATION TO DELIVER ON. HORMATS NOTED THAT THIS WAS AN IMPORTANT POINT TO UNDERSTAND. THE PREVIOUS ADMINISTRATION HAD A DIFFICULT RELATIONSHIP WITH CONGRESS. IT FREQUENTLY COULDN'T DELIVER, EVEN WHEN IT WANTED TO DO SO. THE NEW ADMINISTRATION IS MOVING IN A MORE DELIBERATE WAY AND TRYING TO BRING CONGRESS ALONG. IF WE APPEAR TO HAVE MOVED SLOWLY AT TIMES IT IS BECAUSE WE WANT TO FOLLOW THROUGH ON OUR COMMITMENTS. WILLS ADVISED THE US THAT IT IS BOUND TO BE CRITICIZED BECAUSE OF ITS IMPORTANCE, AND THE US REACTION TO THIS CRITICISM IS IMPORTANT. THE US SHOULD TAKE IT IN STRIDE. IF THE US REACTS THE WAY THE PREVIOUS ADMINISTRATION DID, IT CREATES AN IMPOSSIBLE ATMOSPHERE. HORMATS STRESSED THE PROBLEMS WHICH ARE CREATED FOR THE US WHEN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES PROPOSALS ARE PRESENTED AS DEMANDS AND OBLIGATIONS FOR THE WEST. IF PROPOSALS ARE PRESENTED AS HUMAN NEEDS OR FRAMED IN TERMS OF THEIR MUTUAL BENEFIT FOR NORTH AND SOUTH, IT IS POLITICALLY EASIER TO SELL THEM IN THE US. WILLS AGREED THAT THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES SHOULD CHANGE THEIR STYLE OF PRESENTATION. CONFIDENTIAL

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DEMANDS SHOULD BE FRAMED AS A COMMUNITY OF INTERESTS. HE ADDED THAT DEVELOPED COUNTRIES HAVE PRESENTED THEIR DEMANDS IN SPECIFIC TERMS, SUCH AS REQUEST FOR .7 PER CENT CONTRIBUTION OF GNP DUE TO THEIR LACK OF



TRUST OF THE PREVIOUS COLONIALISTS. IN ADDITION  
WILLS STRESSED, US AID APPEARS TO FOLLOW DEFENSE  
REQUIREMENTS. THERE IS NO AID FLOW IF THERE ARE NO  
US STRATEGIC INTERESTS.

14. CIEC: AMB. JACKSON STATED THAT THE PARIS TALKS  
WERE VIEWED AS A TACTIC TO DIVIDE THE DEVELOPING  
COUNTRIES AND OPEC AND WONDERED WHETHER THE PRESENT  
ADMINISTRATION HAS CHANGED ITS APPROACH AND IS WILLING  
TO NEGOTIATE WITH THE WHOLE DEVELOPING WORLD.  
MR. HORMATS REVIEWED THE ORIGINS OF THE CIEC TALKS  
AND STATED THE US WAS NOT TRYING TO CAUSE ANY SPLIT  
BETWEEN OPEC AND THE REST OF THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES  
BUT TO COOPERATE TO FOSTER MUTUAL BENEFITS AND  
PRACTICAL SOLUTIONS. AMB. JACKSON EXPLAINED THAT  
THE CARIBBEAN DILEMA IS THAT IT IS NOT AN AREA OF  
MASS POVERTY AND DOESN'T EASILY QUALIFY FOR AID UNDER  
CURRENT STANDARDS. IT IS DIFFICULT TO GET PRIVATE  
INVESTMENT BECAUSE THE PRIVATE SECTOR IS NOT  
INTERESTED IN PUTTING MONEY INTO THE INFRASTRUCTURE.  
HORMATS NOTED THAT THE US AID PROGRAM IS GEARED  
TOWARDS SMALLER PROJECTS FOCUSSED ON HUMAN NEEDS,  
BUT THAT THE WORLD BANK STILL CONCENTRATES ON  
INFRASTRUCTURE AND THE US IS CHANNELING INCREASING  
AMOUNTS OF AID THROUGH THE WORLD BANK. WE UNDERSTAND  
THE PROBLEMS OF MIDDLE INCOME COUNTRIES AND WE ARE  
STUDYING HOW BEST TO RELATE TO THEIR DEVELOPMENT NEEDS.  
WILLS COMPLAINED THAT GNP FIGURES MASK A LOT AND  
DON'T PROVIDE A TRUE PICTURE OF A COUNTRY'S SITUATION.  
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15. ARMS SALES: WILLS STATED THAT HE WISHED TO  
BRING UP THE QUESTION OF US ARMS SALES, COMPLAINING  
THAT THE US SELLS ARMS TO SURINAM, BRAZIL AND VENEZUELA  
BUT WON'T SELL ARMS TO GUYANA. EINAUDI COMMENTED  
THAT THERE WAS AN APPARENT CONTRADICTION BETWEEN  
INSISTING ON A NEW SPIRIT OF DEVELOPMENT AND  
ASKING US AS A FIRST STEP TO MEET AN ARMS REQUEST.  
MR. MCCOY (EMBASSY GEORGETOWN) NOTED THAT FOLLOWING  
A RECENT VISIT BY THE ARMY WAR COLLEGE, SOME  
ARRANGEMENTS ARE BEING DISCUSSED FOR PROVIDING ACCESS  
TO ARMY EXCESS SUPPLIES, AND THAT A DOD CUTOFF OF  
APPROACH CHARTS WAS NOW BEING RECONSIDERED. WILLS  
SAID ALL THIS WAS FINE, BUT THAT THE BASIC ISSUE WAS  
GUYANESE ACCESS TO US ARMS ON TERMS SIMILAR TO THOSE  
OF ITS NEIGHBORS, WHOM US PRESIDENTS HAD SEEN FIT TO  
CERTIFY AS IMPORTANT TO US SECURITY. UNTIL THIS  
WAS RECTIFIED, WILLS INSISTED, GUYANA WOULD FIND IT  
HARD TO ACCEPT OUR CHANGE AS COMPLETE.

16. RESUMED SESSION: IN RESPONSE TO QUESTIONS ABOUT  
THE RESUMED UNGA SESSION, AMB. JACKSON SAID THERE

HAD BEEN NO AGREEMENT AS OF LAST MONTH BUT HE WAS NOT INFORMED YET OF THE RESULTS OF THE G-77 WORK IN GENEVA AT ECOSOC. JACKSON SAID THERE WERE BASICALLY TWO OPTIONS, TO TAKE A CONFRONTATIONAL STANCE, OR TO GIVE THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION MORE TIME TO DEVELOP SPECIFIC PROPOSALS. WILLS DISAGREED WITH HORMATS' PREVIOUS REMARK THAT CIEC MADE SOME PROGRESS, IN THAT IT IMPROVED UNDERSTANDING AND WILL PROVIDE PROGRESS IN OTHER AREAS, ALTHOUGH HE SAID THAT HIS ADVISORS SHARED HORMATS' VIEW. HE AGREED HOWEVER THAT CIEC DID SHOW THAT SMALL NUMBERS IN A NEGOTIATION IS A GOOD THING. WILLS SAID THE G-77 DON'T LIKE ATTEMPTS TO EVADE THE UN SYSTEM AND THAT ANY FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS MUST BE IN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE CONFIDENTIAL

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UN SYSTEM. HORMATS AGREED THAT THE UN HAD A BIG ROLE TO PLAY BUT NOTED THAT OUR PROBLEM ALSO WAS HOW TO MAKE THE MAXIMUM USE OF EXISTING FORA SUCH AS UNCTAD, THE WORLD BANK, ETC, AND HOPED THAT WHATEVER WAS SET UP IN THE UN WOULD SUPPORT THAT GOAL. EINAUDI REMARKED THAT THE PREVIOUS ADMINISTRATION KEPT TRYING TO SET UP NEW INSTITUTIONS BUT THAT THE CARTER APPROACH IS TO MAKE THE BEST USE OF THE INSTITUTIONS WHICH WE ALREADY HAVE. HORMATS NOTED THAT THE US WANTS TO RESPOND IN A CONSTRUCTIVE WAY, THAT WE WANT TO HEAR SUGGESTIONS ON HOW TO DO SO, BUT THAT WE SHOULD BOTH BE INTERESTED IN PRACTICAL PROGRESS RATHER THAN PREOCCUPATION WITH NEW INSTITUTIONS.

17. HUMAN RIGHTS: WILLS NOTED THAT SOMEONE SHOULD TELL PRESIDENT CARTER THAT INTELLECTUALS WELCOME THE RETURN TO MORAL IMPERATIVES AND THAT CARTERS HUMAN RIGHTS STAND HAS MOBILIZED FINER INSTINCTS WORLDWIDE. THIS IS THE FIRST TIME THE US HAS DECIDED TO TAKE THE LEAD RATHER THAN JUST ENGAGE IN DAMAGE LIMITATION. WILLS EXPRESSED CRITICISM THAT AT FIRST THE CARTER POLICY APPEARED AIMED ONLY AT THE USSR, THEN APPEARED TO BE GIMMICKAY IN CUTTING OFF MILITARY AID IN LATIN AMERICAN STATES. WILLS FEELS THE US HUMAN RIGHTS POLICY HASN'T BEEN SUFFICIENTLY DEFINED AND THAT A WIDER HUMAN RIGHTS POLICY SHOULD INCLUDE ATTENTION TO ECONOMIC RIGHTS. WILLS SAID THAT FROM WHAT THEY HAVE SEEN, GUYANA WELCOMES THE PRESENT CAMPAIGN. THEY HAVE SERIOUS QUESTIONS ABOUT HOW THIS POLICY IS BEING APPLIED IN PRACTICE. IT APPEARS THAT WHERE THERE ARE US STRATEGIC INTERESTS, THESE ARE CONSIDERED MORE IMPORTANT THAN HUMAN RIGHTS INTERESTS. CONFIDENTIAL

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MS. SPELTON REPLIED THAT THERE IS CURRENTLY A DEBATE UNDERWAY ON HOW TO RECONCILE STRATEGIC AND HUMAN RIGHTS INTERESTS AND THERE IS A GROWING CONSENSUS ON THE NEED FOR INCENTIVES TO COUNTRIES WITH POSITIVE HUMAN RIGHTS RECORDS. IN RESPONSE TO AMB. JACKSON'S QUESTIONS ON CURRENT US INITIATIVES, HE WAS PROVIDED WITH COPIES OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER AND TORTURE PROPOSALS. WILLS NOTED AGAIN THAT WHEN IT COMES TO MILITARY AID, THE US SHOULD NOT FORGET ABOUT HUMAN RIGHTS.

18. GEORGETOWN/CUBA AXIS: WILLS THEN COMMENTED THAT THERE STRATEGIC PROBLEM IN THE HEMISPHERE CAUSED BY THE FALSE REPORTS OF A GEORGETOWN/CUBA AXIS. GUYANA HAS NO ONE TO HELP IT ACHIEVE ITS GOALS, SUCH AS GETTING INTO THE OAS. SOME ONE IN THE US ADMINISTRATION ALWAYS STYMIES PROGRESS IN US/GUYANA RELATIONS BECAUSE OF A FEAR OF MARXISM. WILLS STATED US STRATEGIC CONCERNS ABOUT MARXISM IN GUYANA ARE MISPLACED AND THE BEST DEFENSE THE US HAS IS THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE CARIBBEAN. IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION ABOUT WHAT THE US CAN DO ABOUT HAITI, WHOSE RECORD CAN UNDERMINE A COMMON DEVELOPMENT EFFORT IN THE CARIBBEAN, WILLS RESPONDED THAT HAITI HAS ABSOLUTE POVERTY AND A RUTHLESS REGIME. BUT THAT IF HAITI SEES THAT COUNTRIES WITH GOOD RECORDS ARE REWARDED THEY MIGHT REACT. WILLS SUGGESTED THE US SCALE DOWN ASSISTANCE TO HAITI, AND AT SAME TIME REWARD OTHERS. WILLS STATED IT IS IRONIC THAT ONLY EXTREME TYPE GOVERNMENTS GET AID. RIGHT-WING HAITI GETS US AID AND CUBA GETS SOVIET AID, BUT GUYANA IS GETTING NOTHING.

19. COOPERATION: IN RESPONSE TO HORMATS' QUESTION ON THE MOST CONSTRUCTIVE WAY TO RELATE TO THE CARIBBEAN AREA, WILLS REPLIED THAT THE FACT THAT WE ASKED FOR GUYANA'S ADVICE REPRESENTS A MAJOR CHANGE AND A SHOW CONFIDENTIAL

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OF A NEW SPIRIT. HE AGREED THAT THE SUPPORT OF REGIONALISM AVOIDS PROBLEMS OF BI-LATERAL STRAINS. HE ALSO ASKED THAT THE US USE ITS INFLUENCE IN THE IFI'S FOR INCREASED AID FOR GUYANA. HE CLAIMED THE MOST OBSERVABLE FACT IN GUYANA IS THAT THOSE HELPING THE MOST ARE THE CHINESE, AND THE US IS WAY DOWN THE LINE. WITH RESPECT TO WHICH COUNTRIES SHOULD BE INCLUDED IN A REGIONAL ARRANGEMENT, WILLS NOTED THAT IF THE US IS REALISTIC, IT CAN'T DENY THAT CUBA IS AN IMPORTANT PART OF THE CARIBBEAN, WILLS HOPED ANY REGIONAL ARRANGEMENT OVER THE LONG-RUN, WOULDN'T EXCLUDE CUBA. IN THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE, HOWEVER, ANY REGIONAL ARRANGEMENT SHOULD INCLUDE VENEZUELA, JAMAICA, GUYANA,

MEXICO, AND COSTA RICA. IN CHARACTERIZING THE  
CARIBBEAN AREA, WILLS NOTED THAT IT IS MORE INTERNATIONALIST  
THAN NATIONAL. HE STATED THAT GUYANA HAS A PECULIAR  
EMOTIONAL RELATIONSHIP WITH THE US WHICH IS  
POLITICALLY UNDEFINABLE. GUYANA FEELS HURT WHEN IT IS  
NEGLECTED. WITH RESPECT TO NATURAL ATTRIBUTES,  
GUYANA, IS IN A PECULIAR POSITION. IT HAS AMPLE  
NATURAL RESOURCES AND ENERGETIC PEOPLE. WILLS SAID  
HE HOPES TO GET ACROSS TO THE US THAT THE PEOPLE OF  
GUYANA ARE NOT DESCENDANTS OF STALIN AND NOT SOVIET  
INCLINED. GUYANA IS CONCERNED ABOUT DEVELOPMENT  
AND ABOUT PEOPLE. ITS CHALLENGE IS TO MAKE SIX RACES  
INTO A NATION. WILLS CONCLUDED BY NOTING THAT ALL  
GUYANA ASKS IS TO BE UNDERSTOOD. ORTIZ UNQUOTE CHRISTOPHER

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## Message Attributes

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**Review Markings:**  
Margaret P. Grafeld  
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